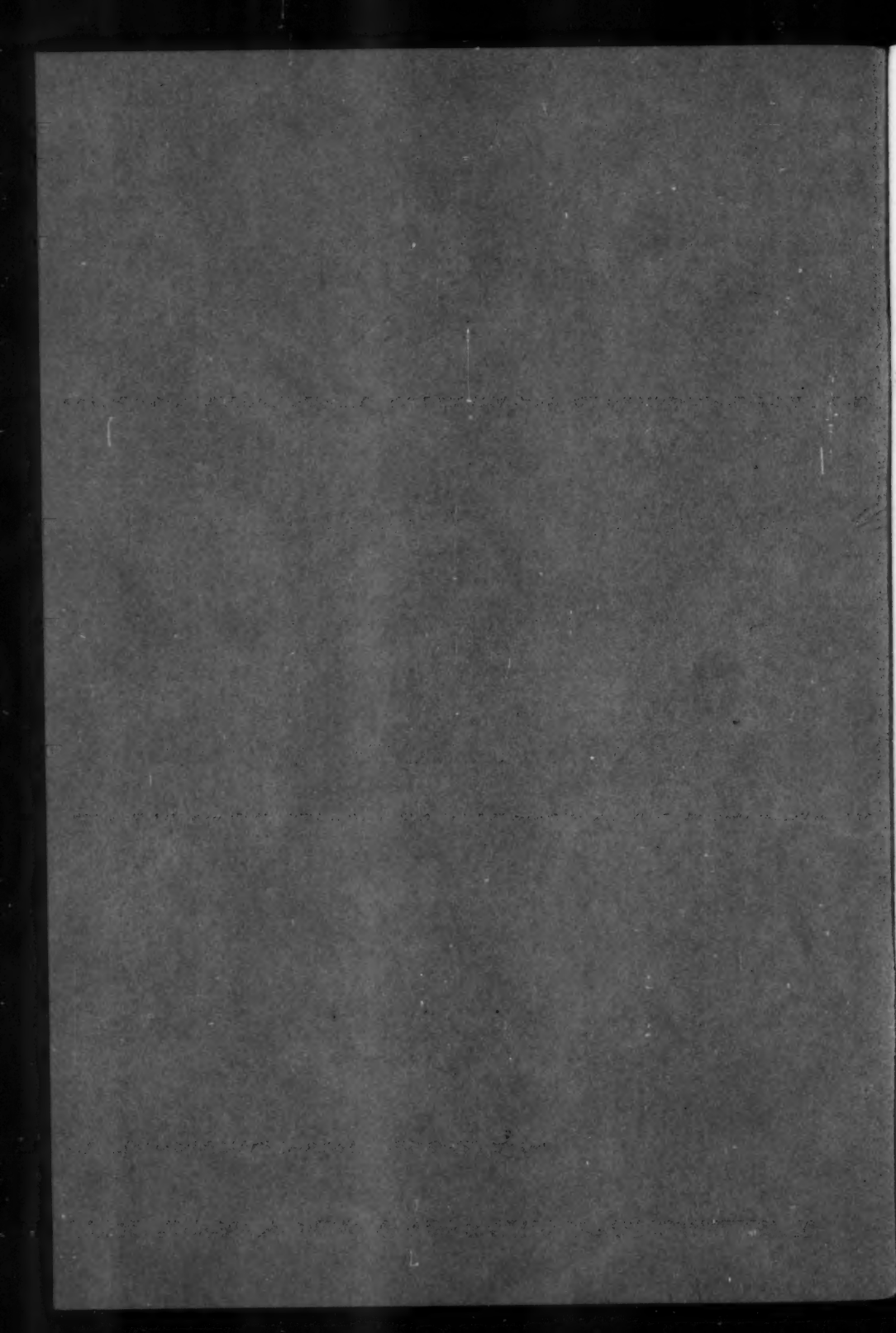


# PRIMITIVE MAN

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# PRIMITIVE MAN

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## THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN SAMOAN CULTURE

REV. JOSEPH DEIHL, S.M.

Apia, Samoa

SAMOA is a group of islands,—Savaii, Upolu, and Tutuila, with Manua and several smaller islands,—lying in the South Pacific, at about  $14^{\circ}$  S. lat., and ranging from about  $170^{\circ}$  to  $173^{\circ}$  W. long. The peoples of these islands belong to the brown Polynesian race. The Polynesians appear to have certain Mongoloid characters and some Caucasoid ones, with a very slight tinge of Negroid which they may have picked up in their migrations when touching on islands inhabited by Negroids. They occupy the thousands of islands in the Pacific, east of the Fiji Islands which are a meeting place of brown and black. How long the Polynesians had occupied the Pacific before our ancestors discovered America is not known, and is still called "the riddle of the Pacific".

The Samoans had a relatively high culture. I should be tempted to call it a kind of civilization proper, but as such use of the term might be objected to, I shall call it Samoan culture.

### POLITICAL LIFE

Samoan political culture was markedly developed. But there was very little place therein for woman, since political offices were elective and not hereditary, and woman had less chance of being elected.

Politically as well as geographically Manua seemed to have stood

aloof from the ordinary scheme of things Samoan. Tutuila was held in fief by the lord of Atua, one of the lords of Upolu. This lord, with two others, called *Tui*, all of royal lineage, presided over the destinies of the island of Upolu. Savaii Island counted seven rulers, called *Pule*. To the *Tui* titles must be added a fourth, the *Malietoa* title, created for the young chief under whose leadership, twenty-nine generations ago, the third and last Tongan invasion was brought to a close. "*Malie toa*" (well done, brave fighting men), cried the Tongans as they set sail for Tonga. The first Malietoa was granted royal prerogatives, and to become king or the *Tupi* (the grown one) of Samoa, the candidate to kingship had to carry royal titles of the three *Tui* or Lords and the *Malietoa* title. Hence the name, the *Taifa* (the four-sided one).

All titles in Samoa are elective; none hereditary. The family groups and clans control, according to complicated Samoan customs, the right of disposing of their respective titles. This leads to much internecine strife and bars women from the attainment of high political position.

In the separate districts were what we may call Excellences, or *Ao*; then a step lower the Honorables or *Alii*; beneath these the Directors of Works or *Tufuga*; and finally the Orators called *Tulafale*. All of these offices were elective and were not confined to any one family of a group. Usually an office went to one who could by his wealth and ability uphold such a position. Women would not ordinarily possess the qualities demanded, and so would stand little chance of holding office and of thus participating in political life.

The Samoan War-Goddess, Nafanua, was said to have been originally a Samoan woman who had set out with another woman, had learned the art of tattooing, and had decided to return to Samoa and to teach this art to the Samoans. On the way back the women had in mind to tattoo only Samoan women and they kept repeating this to themselves. But somehow their ideas became muddled on the way home and when they landed they were saying over and over, "Tattoo only the men". And this is why only the men are tattooed. Although the women have a few tattoo marks, these are not accorded the name of *tatau*.

At any rate the War Goddess and others landed at Savaii, the islands farthest west, brought followers and set up a government,

and there the War Goddess controlled all by force. There are many legends regarding this goddess and her deeds.

Although not holding elective office in the government, women were raised to a position of honor and given a special title that went with the office of *Taupou*. For this office, a daughter of one of the village chiefs was chosen, a virgin girl distinguished by youth, grace and fineness of feature, and one whom the village could display without bringing disgrace on itself. When this virgin arrived at marriageable age a suitable mate would be sought for her by the village chiefs. Little did the girl have to say in the matter,—which reminds one of customs of the nobility in the Middle Ages. The termination of a war between villages was often marked by the marriage of the village virgin with the son of the chief of the opposing village. As with every other title in Samoa, so with the village virgin's, its holder might be deposed, might die, or, in the case of the virgin, after marriage might forfeit it; but the title remained for the successor. All titles carry on forever. When a village virgin married, another comely maiden would be selected to take her place.

Such a girl was protected, guarded, and never left free. When the time came for her marriage, the chiefs of her village arranged all of the marriage details. The ceremony was a great public affair. There were many rites, and enormous quantities of food were provided for feasts.

The village virgin presided over social functions, led the chiefs in processions when bringing in food, and danced for the entertainment of the guests. No one could take her place on public occasions. Although after her marriage the girl would no longer hold her title of village virgin, her influence in her own family and in the family into which she married remained great.

A woman occupied a position corresponding to that of her husband. For instance, if he were king of the men, she was queen of the women. She would have the first and last word to say in affairs concerning the women. The village virgin marrying would have influence depending on her husband's status, on that of her father's and mother's people, and on her previous office as village virgin.

The sister's first male child had a distinguished position and was called "son of the woman". He was a "pet" child. His

mischievous acts and escapades would be condoned where those of other children would not be. He could even interrupt a council of chiefs,—something no one else would dare do,—and would not be punished. A brother had the right to take the first-born male child of his sister as his own if he so wished. Even today it is possible for this to happen, and the sister looks upon this as a matter of course and makes no ado about it.

Women seldom if ever succeed in attaining titles that involve political control. There is one woman living today who is very powerful and who is of high position, yet, try as she will, she cannot make the chiefs recognize her. The men feel it would be a disgrace to give this title to a woman. This particular woman has great influence in her immediate family, but very little in the political life of her village.

#### DOMESTIC LIFE

Let us pass to the consideration of woman in her domestic life. Ordinarily she had the right to choose her own mate, provided she did not happen to be the village virgin. If she herself chanced to be of high birth, equal to or superior therein to her husband, it was easy to sense the fact in the domestic relationship. She would be likely to rule him and the children with a strong hand. She also had the right of separation; she was not a slave or chattel. The procedure of separation was simple. She had merely to return to her own people and to remain with them. If the husband wanted her back he had to call for her, else the marriage was almost invariably broken up by such a procedure on the wife's part. If her husband does not come for her, she cannot go back to him. Many good marriages today are broken up in this way.

As in our Western civilization there is in Samoa some harsh treatment of wives by their husbands, but there are also some husbands who fear their wives. In general, however, the idea seems to prevail that the husband is the ruler of the family and should be obeyed.

In the home the woman is equal to the man and has a right to her children. Husband and wife eat together when at home. If, however, husbands receive male guests, the wives provide the feast but do not themselves partake of it. This custom still prevails. At public feasts the food is prepared in common and distributed, and is then partaken of separately by the men and by the women.

## SOCIAL LIFE

In social life, for those not carrying titles we have the club for the men. The men have what is called the Kava-chewers or *Aumaga* club. These men also act as bodyguard for the chiefs and have other duties as a group. The corresponding girls' club or *Auluma* is watched over and protected by old women who are widows or unmarried. The young men entertain the girls of the club on occasions, and sometimes the girls entertain the young men. Thus there is quite an active social life in the village for those who are not titled.

## ECONOMIC LIFE

So far as economic life is concerned, the woman is not by any means a beast of burden. In all departments of economic life there is a strict division of labor. It is true that the Samoan woman can be seen carrying upon her back a load that a European woman could hardly lift. But the Samoan woman is strong and does not consider her burden such a heavy one. It is not so heavy as that carried by her husband. In fishing, the women do the lighter work that involves no strain. The high-sea fishing is done by the men. On the plantations the women, again, do the lighter work, such as the weeding and pruning, while the men do the heavy work. And so it goes all along the line.

In the household the women make the dishes and mats. The men prepare the fire, but the women do the cooking. Even, however, within the household, the men participate in the preparation of some foods where physical strength is particularly called for. In general as regards division of labor, tasks requiring greater physical strength fall to the man, while the lighter ones fall to the woman.

The woman is the money-maker. The wealth of the Samoan past and present consists in the very fine mats called *Ie Tonga*. These mats are the medium of exchange. They entered into political life. Differences could be settled by presents of fine mats. Twenty-five to fifty mats were considered quite a fortune. One, two, or three years are required to make a single mat, depending on its quality. The women make the mats, working in groups, devoting one or two days a week to the work, and chatting and smoking as the work goes on.

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Even today one does not find a man doing a woman's work. This would be considered a disgrace for him. One man, for instance, was ostracized for doing the woman's part of thatching the roof of a hut after the women had refused to do it.

The woman shares the burdens of her husband. Her position in the family is one of strict equality. Yet she does her full share in helping her husband.

The woman was the doctor and even today is a skilled one. Many of the native medicines are in the control of women and are handed down from mother to daughter. It is impossible to learn much of these secret medicines. Each woman specialized on her own medicine. A sick person would often go the rounds of all the doctors before it was finally decided which doctor could cure him. The natives have great faith in their own doctors and try them first before coming to white doctors.

In war women were generally not molested. They were the "neutrals", the *tinifu*. Samoan warfare was like a game of chess, "I move; now you move", and the women, with their special freedom to invade either camp, commonly carried information on the next move. This is no way interfered with the opportunity for personal glory which each warrior sought to obtain for himself through some daring and open act of bravery.

One of the outstanding factors of Samoan society is the remarkable attachment of children to their mother. The word of a dying mother to her children is law. The children in general are very obedient to the solemn request of a mother.

#### THE POSITION OF WOMAN AMONG THE Mescalero APACHE \*

REGINA FLANNERY

The Catholic University of America

AS there were six of us on the same ethnological field investigation last summer among the Mescalero Apache in the mountains of southeastern New Mexico, the task of getting a picture of their culture was divided among us. To my lot fell the

\*For permission to publish the article the writer is indebted to the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe under whose auspices was conducted the field expedition during which the data incorporated in the article were gathered.

gathering of myths and folk tales, so that much of the material here presented was obtained incidentally. I had a woman interpreter most of the nine weeks we were there and as I took about half of my stories from women informants, I was among women the greater part of the time and had a good opportunity of observing them at close range.

#### DOMESTIC LIFE

Marriage is arranged by the parents. Presents are offered to the parents of the girl by the parents of the boy. If the boy is acceptable to the girl's parents, the girl must marry him whom her parents by accepting the presents approve. Often the girl had something to say in the matter, but theoretically she was supposed to obey her parents implicitly. Matters having been arranged, the girl's mother erects a tipi near her own and there the boy and girl dwell as man and wife. The girl does not give up affiliation with her own family at marriage. The husband becomes more of an addition to the bride's family than she to his. One hears a great deal of the respect due to parents-in-law on the part of the husband. For instance, a man must avoid his mother-in-law. He may neither look at her, nor speak to her. To his father-in-law he must give, as I understand it, half of the proceeds of his hunting and must allow his father-in-law to take any of his possessions the latter happens to fancy. On the other hand, very little is said of the relations of the bride to her husband's family.

All the food is prepared at a common fireplace in front of the mother's tipi and each of the married daughters takes the already prepared food to her respective husband and partakes of the meal with him at their own dwelling. Given these circumstances which keep a girl close to her own relatives, it would seem she would be better protected, other things being equal, than a wife would be among peoples who follow a different pattern. Even though a man should desire to treat his wife badly, he would think twice before so doing. In spite of the fact that presents,—often of great value,—are given to the parents of the girl, there seems to be no ground for assuming that the bride is considered the property of the husband.

I was told that when polygamy was allowed, if a woman had many children and was burdened with much work, she might ask

her husband to take another wife, who would relieve her of some of her tasks. The second wife in many cases but not necessarily, was a sister of the first. Under such circumstances the wives got along very amicably as a rule. But the husband who decided on his own that he would like another wife, without consulting his first wife or being asked by her to procure a second, was very apt to find his life not so pleasant as he had anticipated. More often than not jealousy arose and caused friction. This evidence I have only from the woman's point of view. The male half of the population possibly has a different story to tell. However that may be, it is a fact that such a thing as a "henpecked" husband is not an impossibility in Apache society. Not often, it is true, but once in a while, a man will stand in pretty healthy fear of his wife,—especially if she be related to one suspected of being a witch.

So far as I could gather, rights of divorce are about equal, sterility and infidelity being mentioned as the most common grounds therefor. In case of divorce the children usually stay with the mother, although there is no fixed rule and circumstances alter cases. Examples were cited where the children were divided between the parents.

Due to matrilineal residence, the education of the children was mainly in the hands of the mother and of her female relations. From my observation of present conditions, it would seem that the maternal grandmother has quite a say in the training of the children, and, too, it is usually she who spoils them. Before schools were introduced, the boys at the age of puberty would be taken from the custody of the women and trained by the man. From the father's viewpoint, however, the mother was fully responsible for the upbringing of the daughters. One old woman declared that in the old days, if a young girl should be discovered acting loosely, the father of such a girl would be justified in leaving his wife and marrying another, because he felt it was up to the mother to see that the girl behaved herself.

In early youth children of both sexes play together very freely. As they grow older they lose interest in each other, and while the women claim that there is no actual restriction, older boys and girls are very seldom seen together. Boys and girls seem to be equally loved and cared for, and I did not discover that there was any preference for babies of either sex. Twins, however, were

hated and feared, and I was told that formerly no matter what the sex, the older was saved and the younger destroyed.

#### ECONOMIC LIFE

The Mescaleros were a gathering as well as a hunting people, and the obtaining of food devolved about equally on both sexes. At present sheep-herding and other occupations have replaced hunting so far as the duties of men are concerned. But even today the women gather and store great quantities of wild plants and fruits.

Formerly the time of the men was pretty well taken up with hunting and war. When at home, besides their amusements, they would be concerned with making weapons,—bows, arrows, shields. Or perhaps they would accompany their women on gathering expeditions,—not to help gather the mescal or whatever particular food they were seeking, but to protect them from sudden raids of either Comanches or Mexicans.

The women, besides gathering and preparing plant foods for immediate consumption and for storage, had likewise to prepare the meats brought in by the hunters, as well as to tan the skins of the animals and make them into various articles of clothing, tipi coverings, parfleches, etc. Baskets were woven by the women. Pottery-making, though comparatively little practised in their nomadic life, also fell within the province of women's duties. Even *tiswin*, the native intoxicating drink, is made by the women, although it is true that the recipe for this is known by the men and today is used by them, whether it was so used in the days before white influence or not.

Young married women might go hunting with their husbands, not merely to accompany them, but actually to take part in the chase. My informant on this point was such a shriveled-up, decrepit old woman that it was hard to believe that she was once active and skilled enough to rope a buffalo, wind the rope around a tree, and kill the animal with an axe. I was informed by others that this was not such an uncommon feat for a woman in former times, and that as a group would be moving camp women would, if they needed food, kill whatever animals they came upon.

It would seem from the above enumeration that the duties of women outweigh those of the men. Yet the Mescalero woman did not have such a hard time of it after all. A wife lived for all

practical purposes in the same household as her mother, her mother's sisters, and her own sisters. She was relieved of much care of her children by her mother or some of the female relatives of her mother's generation. The food was prepared centrally, so to speak, and her other duties were not so arduous that she did not have some leisure time in which to occupy herself as she would.

Any personal property a woman may have before marriage remains her own to dispose of as she pleases. Any proceeds she receives from the sale of basketry or beadwork are her own exclusively. I think that the tipi belongs to the woman, but I am not too sure on this point.

#### SOCIAL LIFE

The Mescalero woman is not one who is hemmed in unduly by taboos. There are, of course, certain things she may or may not do. For instance, during the period of her adolescent ceremony, she must use the head-scratcher as she is not supposed to scratch her scalp with her fingers; she must not touch water during this period and so is compelled to use the drinking tube. But, so far as I could ascertain, there were just as many restrictions upon her brother the first time he accompanied a war party.

There are some few food taboos obligatory for pregnant women. However when a woman is in this condition, neither she nor her husband may watch the horned spirits dancing.

On the occurrence of death in the tribe, all relatives of the deceased,—male and female alike,—were, in former times, accustomed to tear off their garments and to go practically unclothed for almost a year as a sign of mourning. Only the women, however, cut their hair. My informants declared that a man might remarry within a year of the death of his wife, but that a woman must wait four years before taking another spouse. A man is privileged to marry his wife's sister if his wife dies, but this is not obligatory. On the other hand, if a woman's husband dies, she has to marry her husband's brother, if he so wishes. Otherwise she may marry any whom she pleases after the proper period of mourning has elapsed. In this latter case, she and her children are supported by her father or her grandmother in the interval.

I heard many stories from the old women about how carefully young girls were brought up in the old days and about what punishment was meted out to any who should happen to go astray. I

obtained no information regarding the training of boys in this respect. A woman could be beaten by her husband for adultery and she would usually return to her mother's camp, but it would be difficult for her to get another husband if this had occurred. There seems to be no punishment for unfaithful husbands. Of course his wife might divorce such a husband and he would be forced to leave her tipi, but he might not consider that to be such drastic punishment.

Games and dancing were, so far as I could ascertain, the main amusements of the Apache. Some of the games played by the men at times had a religious significance. When a game of hoop and pole was in progress women could approach the players only within a certain distance and there were other restrictions. However, the women had their own games in which the men did not participate. The old women of the tribe told me that all Apaches are gamblers, and insisted that the women are equally as reckless as the men. It is quite evident that the passion for gambling, among the women at least, has not abated with the passing of time. For some years, it would seem, Mexican card games have replaced the old games on which the women placed such heavy stakes. Nowadays many a husband comes home expecting his supper to be ready, only to find that his wife has decamped for the day with her companions to some little frequented spot where their gambling will not be interrupted by the law.

Men and women participate together in the social dancing. And there need be no wall flowers among Apache girls. The woman may choose whatever partner she desires for the dance and the man on whom her choice falls must give her a present whether he takes advantage of the privilege extended him or not.

#### RELIGIOUS LIFE

There is one time in life when the girl completely eclipses the boy and has the center of the stage, so to speak. This is at the ceremony held every year for girls who have become mature during that year. This rite is now seemingly half social and half religious. At puberty the boy used to receive special training, but there is no public centering of attention on him. At present I believe it is only the older men of the more conservative families who even remember details of this special training, whereas today the girls' adolescent rite forms the basis of the one public ceremony allowed



to the Mescaleros during the year by the government. It was also a very important occasion in former days.

It is the men who do the religious dancing and who appear masked and painted as the horned spirits. The women have no part at all in the masked dancing. Medicine men paint the dancers according to a special rite. The medicine men, too, seem to have a corner on the spectacular cures that require songs, and on such operations as the sucking out of the disease from the body of the afflicted. The medicine women, however, have a practical knowledge of herbs and similar remedies and are much in demand for certain cures and for some of the minor ceremonies. For instance, they say the proper prayers over the child and put pollen on it when it is first put in the cradle. It is they who, with a little ceremony, supervise the first hair-cut, and the first putting on of the moccasin when the baby is beginning to walk. And there is one old medicine-woman to whom a young boy must go when he takes his first smoke. Regarding the cures, the medicine woman is just as responsible as the medicine man, for if either misuses some article necessary in his or particular ceremony or leaves out even a word of the prayer, and the patient dies, the medicine man or woman must die, or, as I was told, "fix it" so that some near relative of the practitioner dies in his or her stead.

As for the modern religious cults, the women, among the Mescaleros, were peyote eaters as well as the men. In the half-Christian, half-pagan Silas John cult that has sprung up very recently, the women are members, and, I believe, of equal standing with the men.

### THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN PRIMITIVE CULTURE

REV. JOHN M. COOPER

The Catholic University of America

**F**EW problems of primitive culture are fraught with so many difficulties as is that of the position of woman therein. It is so easy for us to misunderstand and misinterpret many of the facts we have. Then our facts themselves are so often inadequate. Furthermore, status or position is made up of so many divergent and frequently conflicting elements, that generalizations are usually very hazardous. Finally, the ultimate factors that give rise to higher or lower status are so hard to analyse out and to verify.



The most we can hope to do in this brief paper is to present the problem, to review rapidly the facts, to block out a few of the generalizations that can be safely made, and to suggest some conclusions regarding the development of woman's status in the prehistoric past.

#### THE HAZARD OF MISUNDERSTANDING

First of all, a few words regarding the danger of misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Some time ago the writer came across the following paragraph, supposed to be an excerpt from a letter sent by a Chinese visitor in England to a fellow-countryman.

"You cannot civilize these foreign devils. They will live for weeks and months without touching a mouthful of rice, but they eat the flesh of bullocks and goats in enormous quantities. That is why they smell like sheep themselves. Every day they take a bath to rid themselves of their disagreeable odors, but they do not succeed. Nor do they eat the meat cooked in small pieces; it is carried into the room in large chunks, often half raw, and they cut, slash and tear it apart. It makes a civilized being perfectly nervous. One fancies himself in the presence of sword swallows. They even sit at the same table with women, and the latter are served first, reversing the order of nature".

The present writer would not care to vouch for the authenticity of the foregoing excerpt; it was clipped from a newspaper. But whether authentic or not, it points a moral that is eminently true, and that needs ever to be kept in mind in interpreting cultures other than our own, even when we happen to be eyewitnesses of what we interpret.

We whites have traditionally imagined the American Indian woman as a hopeless and helpless drudge. She is seen trudging along the trail behind her husband, carrying on her back an ample burden of household impedimenta, with perhaps a pappoose perched on top, while her liege lord saunters ahead, carrying nothing but his rifle or, in the olden days, his bow and arrow. The white man, observing the fact, has often inferred therefrom that she does all the work and he none, and that she is little more than a beast of burden. In some cases, there may well have been a measure of truth in the inference, but, in most cases, the inference

has been quite incorrect. The Indian may have been walking ahead, unhampered by burdens, simply because as hunter for and protector of the family he had to be handfree and footfree should game or enemy turn up on the trail. At any rate, drawing from such a scene the inference that the Indian woman was a slave or a drudge was quite unjustifiable. More commonly than not she was neither one nor the other.

Over a considerable portion of what is now the United States and Canada, it was customary for husbands to cut or bite off the nose of adulterous wives. The most enthusiastic admirers of Indian character would be slow to approve this little domestic amenity. Nevertheless its significance should not be exaggerated. It was a punishment approved by public opinion and inflicted in accordance therewith for what was looked upon as a grave crime,—a punishment which at that was by no means as brutal as a host of maiming and amputating punishments inflicted only a few generations back by our own supposedly enlightened European criminal codes and inflicted often on women as well as on men. We may add, too, that among some of the very people who had the nose-bobbing practice, bereaved relatives used to chop or hack off one of their own finger-joints as a customary but quite voluntary token of mourning.

Our sources on aboriginal Australian culture give us a good many records of brutal beating of delinquent spouses by their husbands. It would be charity gone blind to try to exculpate the men in the case. On the other hand, the aboriginal Australian, male or female, was no mollycoddle when it came to physical pain. We are less apt to exaggerate the relative significance of the beating and slashing as a punishment, if we recall that these same men often inflicted deep six-inch gashes on their own thighs as a sign of mourning. On one such man Spencer and Gillen counted the traces of no less than twenty-three wounds which had been thus self-inflicted at different times. As a normal part of mourning ceremonies, too, a number of female relatives of the deceased—under a certain amount of tribal pressure, it is true—would cut their scalps open with yam-sticks, while the widow would in addition show her particular sorrow by searing such a scalp wound with a red-hot fire-stick. Some of the scars on the women are purely ornamental. The same authors have summed up the situation for the northern tribes of Central Australia as follows:

"The great majority of the scars which mark the bodies of the women are self-inflicted, and, as a matter of fact, they are proud of them. Now and again, if a husband thinks that his wife has been unfaithful to him, she will certainly meet with exceedingly cruel treatment. Taking everything into account, however, the life of one of these savage women, judged from the point of view of her requirements in order to make life more or less comfortable, is far from being the miserable one that it is so often pictured. It must also be remembered that what would cause very serious pain to a civilised woman only results in trifling discomfort to a savage". (*Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 33, cf. 45-46, 54-56, 520-23).

Among many primitive peoples the women do not eat until after the men have finished eating. This appears to us, with our Occidental background, "to reverse the order of nature", quite as much as our own custom appeared to our Chinese visitor to do. But precedence in the case can come into vogue for many reasons, and need not involve any concept of superiority or inferiority. In our own American life, at many a picnic and at many a farm house, the custom of men first when it comes to eating prevails without any connotation of female inferiority or of male superiority. Maybe it is the American white woman's feeling of superiority that so leads her to show her contempt for the brute by feeding him first!

The custom of paying a bride-price is widespread in primitive culture, although very far from universal. When a couple are about to marry, the man is expected and may be rigidly obliged to turn over a good deal of native wealth to the parents or kin of the bride. On the surface, it looks as if he were buying her. Sometimes that is just what he is doing, if we interpret our evidence correctly. But in most cases there is no question of either outright or camouflaged purchase. More often than not there are no more elements of purchase in the transaction than in our own custom of engagement rings. Very frequently, the girl herself will indignantly jilt the prospective groom unless he comes across handsomely and will consider that any failure on his part to do so is an indication that he thinks much less of her than she thinks she is worth. In other words the mere transfer of property, however obligatory it be under native custom, by no means necessarily or even ordinarily connotes buying or purchase.

The foregoing examples,—and they could be multiplied,—are given merely to illustrate how easy it is for us to misunderstand and to misinterpret such facts on woman's status as we may see with our own eyes among primitive peoples. The overt facts call for patient and cautious interpretation in the light of the general culture of the peoples concerned and of the inner meaning attached to the facts by these people themselves, a meaning that cannot always be read running.

#### THE FACTS

Our second and third difficulties in dealing with the position of primitive woman arise from the frequent paucity of information on otherwise well-known cultures and from the complexity of the elements that go to make up status.

The status of woman in any given people depends upon a great number of different things, upon her recognized rights, duties, liberties, and opportunities,—chiefly in the domestic, economic, social, political, and religious spheres. A few words regarding each of these five groups of elements.

#### DOMESTIC STATUS

Woman's status in the home depends partly on the treatment accorded her and partly on the rights enjoyed by her.

Generally speaking, affection between husband and wife is well developed in primitive culture. Among some peoples wives occasionally meet with brutal treatment in the way of beating and whipping. But this is very far from being the rule, or from even being common, and the wives themselves are often recorded as using strong-arm methods with weak or errant husbands. Again, in many primitive cultures, custom is against outward manifestation, particularly in public or before strangers, of affection between mates who really love each other deeply. This is the case with a great many of our American Indian tribes. The present writer counts among his personal friends many such couples among the northern Algonquian and Athapascan Indians,—couples who have gone through years and decades of wedded life with seemingly never a harsh word or hateful thought to ruffle the quiet surface of marital life and with a deep though undemonstrative affection that time seems never to dim. Romantic premarital love and abiding marital love were not born of Greek or medieval civilization. They are found on the simplest levels of primitive culture.

And kind, gentle, considerate treatment of wives by husbands is probably as common among the peoples of lower culture as it is among those of advanced civilization, even though accompanied on both levels by the typical superiority attitude of the human male. We do not mean to imply that on the score of treatment of wives, primitive peoples are always models. By no means. But all in all they do not appear to fall much, if at all, shorter of the ideal than do their civilized brethren.

Wives may be treated kindly and affectionately, and yet be denied equality of rights in the home or beyond its precincts. They may be considered either as inferior and subject to their husbands, or as helpmates and equals, or as superiors in and mistresses of the domestic domain. Among some primitive peoples a wife is supposed to obey her husband almost if not quite absolutely and is almost if not entirely subjected to his wishes and behests. Among other primitive peoples, the headship of the family is pretty well divided between husband and wife. Among some other, as, for instance, in the Iroquoian family, and, perhaps one might add, the Pueblos, woman seems on the whole to stand superior in domestic rights to the man. We find so many cases recorded of henpecked husbands among so many peoples and cultures well known to us that in all probability this phenomenon is one of worldwide distribution in the sense that individual cases occur the world over. Yet all things considered, for the world at large, headship in the sense of domestic control appears to rest somewhat more with the man than with the woman.

As to how far the wife is consulted by her husband in important family decisions, our actual evidence is meager, but we do get a good deal of information to the effect that such consultation is by no means uncommon and that important family decisions are customarily arrived at by mutual agreement between husband and wife among a great many primitive peoples. Probably this is the case, in greater or lesser measure, among most of them.

As regards the children, much or even most of the control of their early education is apt to lie in the hands of the mother, particularly as regards the female children. Very commonly among primitive peoples, when divorce or separation between mates occurs, all the children go with the mother, although among many tribes the boys go with the father and the girls go with the mother, while in some all the children go with the father.

Among many peoples the wife is considered as having equal,—in some cases superior,—rights in the matter of divorce and separation, but somewhat more commonly, it seems, the husband is granted more leeway in this regard. Again, while the great majority of primitive peoples admit the right of the man to acquire two or more wives if he so desires, or if he can support them, only a small minority seem to grant freedom to the woman to acquire two or more husbands. But perhaps the present writer is here reading something into the evidence that is not there. Maybe the women don't want more than one, at least at a time. And many of them, in primitive as well as in civilized life, seem to think that one is too many, at least the one they have.

It may also be added that, as regards choice of marital partners, while the man among a good many peoples has perhaps a little more freedom, on the other hand among the majority of peoples, so far as our evidence goes, there does not seem to be much difference between the rights of the two sexes. While parents and kin, among a very large number of primitive peoples, have much to say in the selection of mates for their offspring, the girl's wishes are not, as a rule, overlooked. Moreover, among a great number of peoples, perhaps the majority, the mother has just as much to say in such parental arrangements as has the father, and in many cases much more to say.

A fairly definite inequality as regards the double sex code is of very wide distribution in primitive life, although by no means universal. Under this code public opinion or tribal law will be much more lenient toward the unfaithful husband than toward the unfaithful wife. Adultery on the part of the woman is not uncommonly punishable by death, even though less frequently so punished in actuality. The woman, on the other hand, often has her own ways of chastising her errant spouse, and these ways are by no means confined to the use of her tongue or her fingernails. Among many peoples she well knows how to wield the club or other weapons. The same double sex code that obtains for the married, often obtains for the unmarried, although in some cases,—as, for instance, among the ancient Hurons,—it would look as if the girls are a little more forward in their advances than are the boys, and looseness on the part of the girls is looked upon as at most a peccadillo.

## ECONOMIC STATUS

As regards economic status, while there do seem to be peoples among whom an unequal burden of labor and drudgery rests upon the shoulders of wives and women, among the great majority of peoples it appears that, given the conditions under which they live, labor is fairly well divided between the sexes. More commonly, tasks involving physical danger or greater physical strength fall to the lot of the man, while a great many of the tasks involving less danger and strength fall to the lot of the woman. After all, this is not so very unlike the situation that prevails in our own civilization.

As for ownership of property, it would seem that among all or practically all peoples women have rights to personal property,—the spheres in which such rights are exercised being very broad among some peoples, rather limited among others. The present writer, when desiring to purchase basketry, moccasins, or other things made by women, among the Northern Algonquian peoples, has on one or two occasions inadvertently asked the woman's husband what would be the price of the articles bargained for, only to be referred at once by the husband to the woman herself with some such remark as the following: "That is my wife's property. She made it. You will have to bargain with her". And the purchase price was turned over directly to the woman, even though her husband was present at the time. Ownership of land more commonly, but not always, rests with the men, where individual ownership of land obtains at all.

## SOCIAL STATUS

As regards broader social life, among many peoples we find women's organizations that correspond to our women's clubs, societies, and associations. In these organizations the women have full sway, with their own officers, activities and privileges. Not infrequently, too, we find religious, social or other organizations with a mixed membership of both men and women, in which the women have a fair share of honors and responsibilities.

Among a great many peoples there are special food and other taboos binding upon women. Some of the food taboos in particular suggest strongly that male cravings for the delicacies may have been responsible for the imposition of the taboos, but in most



cases there seems to be no reason for attributing the origin of the taboos to male dominance. Often, in fact, the men are under the same taboos as are the women, or else are under other taboos quite as stringent as those that hem in female freedom. A certain proportion of the taboos binding on women are in connection with childbirth and menstruation, and some appear at first sight to connote a measure of female inferiority. It is very doubtful, however, in most cases whether such a feeling has anything to do with the taboos. In the large majority of cases, magico-religious considerations play an important rôle in such female taboos, and have probably been responsible for their origin.

An important element in general social freedom is the everyday liberty to come and go, as contrasted with social codes that would tie women tightly to the doorposts of their own homes. We have inadequate information on this point. Generally speaking, however, the woman apparently has considerable such freedom, at least of association with those of her own sex. Informal visiting, chatting, and gossiping seem to be pretty nearly as common among the women of primitive culture as they are supposed not to be, but are, among the men of our own Occidental culture.

#### POLITICAL STATUS

In political life, women among all or nearly all peoples take a second place. There are many tribes that may have female chiefs. In the Iroquois Confederacy, woman had a most decisive voice in public affairs. But this very striking Iroquoian gynocracy is almost, if not quite, unique in the history of primitive political culture. Generally speaking, the man is the dominant power in political life, in both intratribal and intertribal affairs, as he is, even in spite of the modern extension of woman suffrage, in our own Occidental culture. "Amazonian" republics, kingdoms, or empires belong to the realm of fable. To the same realm, so far as our ethnological information goes, belongs the once widely held theory of a primitive matriarchate in which women controlled the destinies of tribes as well as of families. Among a great many peoples descent of property and of sib or clan affiliation is through the maternal line. But, as a rule, such inheritance has almost no appreciable effect, one way or another, on the general status of woman, either in political life or in domestic, economic, social or religious life.



## RELIGIOUS STATUS

In regard to religious life, more commonly it is the man who has the major share of religious leadership and activity. Among not a few peoples, the woman is rather rigidly barred from active participation in some of the most important religious rites and ceremonials. On the other hand, she is apt to have considerable part in private ceremonial, and sometimes even in public celebrations. Here and there we find women's societies of a distinctly religious nature, societies in which both officers and members are women, with their own ceremonials from which the male of the species is strictly excluded. Very frequently, too, women take a leading part in magico-religious rites for the curing of illness. Incidentally, they are frequently the custodians of much or of most of the herbal lore of the tribe, and consequently woman has a right to claim equal share with man in having laid the prehistoric foundations of the science of medicine.

## GENERALIZATIONS FROM OUR FACTS

We very frequently find in the field sources on particular tribes or culture areas such statements as the following: "Woman's position is extremely high among this people", or "extremely low"; "woman is a slave and a drudge". Occasionally we find in the second-hand literature such statements applied broadly and with little or no qualification to primitive woman as such. While we are very far from knowing all about the subject of female status which we should like to know, we do know that such statements, when applied to particular tribes without qualification are usually misleading to say the least, and, when applied to the primitive world as such, are just wrong.

Among most primitive peoples, woman's position is somewhere between the extreme of height and the extreme of depth. There is a great deal of unevenness in status, not only for the primitive world as such but usually within any given tribe. That there is unevenness in the primitive world as such has been suggested in the previous pages, and the evidence is overwhelmingly clear. But even within a given tribe the same unevenness may exist. Woman may rank relatively very high in domestic life and at the same time relatively very low in political life, as in the case of the Samoan woman whose status has been outlined by Father Deihl. She may

rank well in domestic and social life, fairly well in economic and religious life, and low in political life, as among the Mescalero Apache, whom Miss Flannery has described for you. In fact, we find among actual tribes practically all the combinations that are theoretically possible. Seldom, indeed, can one say that in a given tribe woman ranks very high or very low in all these five main spheres: domestic, economic, social, political and religious. The nearest we get to such uniformity is among certain tribes where in all these lines she ranks neither markedly high nor markedly low but just in between.

Generalizations, then, on the position of woman in a given tribe or in the primitive world as such are apt to be misleading, if not quite inaccurate, unless very carefully qualified. The following generalizations which we are venturing are therefore purposely put somewhat flexibly or expressed with serious qualifications.

If we take the primitive world as such and strike a rough average, woman's position ordinarily appears in the main somewhat below that of man. In few if any tribes do we seem to be justified by the evidence in concluding that her position on the whole is superior to that of man, nor have we any convincing or even probable evidence that ever in the past her position was one of marked superiority. While, however, she seems not to have attained a markedly higher status than man, she is on the other hand rarely the abject inferior, slave, and drudge that she is so often pictured to be. Such characterizations have some approximation to truth among a rare tribe or culture here and there, but even among these rare exceptions her status is very far from having the zero or sub-zero rating sometimes given her.

A second broad generalization that holds in most cases is that among pastoral peoples there appears to be a general tendency for women to have a somewhat lower status than is found on the average among non-pastoral peoples. Here again there are many exceptions, but the rule seems to hold fairly well over most of the great pastoral steppe and desert area that extends in an almost unbroken line from the Gobi desert through the central Asiatic steppe region to the Arabian and Sahara deserts. It is possible that some of the handicaps upon women that have characterized historic Turkish, Arabic, and Jewish culture and that have obtained in pre-Christian and Christian European culture go back in origin

to this great pastoral culture, in which man, the domesticator and herder, was the chief economic provider for the family.

A third generalization that can be made from the facts we have is the following. Among the peoples of very simple hunting and gathering culture, the marginal peoples, the position of woman is usually quite good, and in many cases relatively very good, equal or very nearly equal to that of man. The Australians certainly seem to form an exception to this general rule, but there is serious question how primitive most of the Australians really are. Among a number of the extremely primitive marginal peoples, well beneath the level of simple, gardening and herding, we have pretty clear field evidence that the position of women is appreciably or notably superior to that of their sisters among contiguous tribes that live on a much higher level of material culture. The following three excerpts, the first referring to the very primitive Punan of Borneo and the other two to the very lowly forest nomads of the Malay Peninsula, may serve as illustrations of the generalization.

Hose and McDougall, in their great monograph on "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," say of the Punan, these "Arcadian bands of gentle, wary wanderers": "Harmony and mutual help are the rule within the family circle, as well as throughout the larger community; the men generally treat their wives and children with all kindness, and the women perform their duties cheerfully and faithfully" (ii. 185). Skeat and Blagden, referring to the primitive nomads of the Malay Peninsula whom they have so well described, write: "... it appears to me that the division of labor among these children of nature is very fairly equitable, and that the man cannot reasonably be expected to do more". And they add: "Can it be that it is in a more advanced stage of civilization that the real oppression of the woman begins?" (Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, I, 375). Martin, speaking of the same peoples, writes as follows: "The treatment of woman by the man among the pure-blooded tribes is thoroughly good. I have never seen a man reprimand or maltreat his wife. Both obviously treat each other more as comrades. . . . Thus the common life of married mates is a hand-in-hand labor, a mutual support, a peaceful union usually lasting till death" (Die Inlandstämme d. malayischen Halbinsel, 872).

## HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF WOMAN'S STATUS

From the general lay of our facts we seem to be justified in drawing some provisional conclusions as to historic development and perspective. Attempts to reconstruct the history of the status of woman have often gone to either one or other of two extremes.

One theory or group of theories had it that in the beginning stood the matriarchate, a primitive period of female dominance, or, if we can use the expression without appearing flippant, of petticoat government. This theory has now been given over almost entirely by anthropologists. Briffault has in his recent work "The Mothers" endeavored to revive the theory, but, unfortunately for the theory, the facts are against it.

The other theory,—if it can be called such, for it is a popular concept rather than a scientific proposition,—is what may be called the cave-man concept. According to this view, primitive man of the caves, and assumedly still earlier man who preceded the gentleman of the caverns, was not only the master but a pretty hard-fisted and hard-boiled one. He is not infrequently imagined and pictured as capturing by brute force his marital mate, as dragging her around the cave and its vicinity by the hair of her head, and as enforcing his sweet will on her through the gentle persuasion of a bludgeon.

This picture lends itself well to Sunday magazine sections, but need not be taken very seriously. We have no direct evidence whatsoever on the status of woman in the days of the cave man. We have, however, a good deal of direct evidence on her status among a number of peoples, the marginals referred to above, who live a simple hunting and gathering life in many respects similar to the life lived by our cave-man ancestors of Europe. Among these living nomad hunters, woman's position is, relatively speaking, very good. The chances are more than even that it was about the same in the days of the cave man.

The truth, as regards the historic development of the status of woman, seems to lie in between the above two extremes, that of marked female dominance under a primitive matriarchate and that of marked male dominance under a cave-man patriarchate. We are led to this conclusion by a consideration both of the actual status of woman among living uncivilized peoples and of the factors responsible for such status.

As we have seen, among most primitive peoples living today, woman's position is somewhere in between the two extremes of marked dominance and of marked oppression. Moreover, among the simpler of the uncivilized peoples, the marginal hunters, woman's position is relatively good, equal or nearly equal to that of man. While far-reaching changes have no doubt occurred among primitive peoples the world over since early prehistoric times, the uncivilized world today, and particularly the lower marginals, give us considerable insight into what prehistoric culture looked like.

Furthermore, a good many of the factors which have led to inequality in status between the sexes in times nearer to the historic were not and could not have been operative in very early prehistoric times, before the rise of an economic life built on the domestication of plants and animals and before the accumulation of wealth, the sharp stratification of social and economic classes, and the herding of great numbers of peoples together within village or other tribal limits. We do not know nearly as much as we should like to know of these factors, but we have good reason for inferring that they have played no small part in bringing about unequal status between the sexes. And these factors were not and could not have been operative in earlier prehistoric times prior to the rise of domestication or other more advanced practical arts.

In very primitive nomad hunting culture, social customs must have tended to be, as in such culture today they tend to be, less institutionalized and crystallized. Moreover, social and political groups were as a rule very small. In fact, such social and political groups were to all practical purposes small domestic groups, little bands made up of individual families or of near kin wandering about for the greater part of the year, each band a fairly independent unit, and the members of each band bound by very close blood and kinship ties. Under such conditions it is personality that counts most and that contributes most to status.

In the very primitive nomad hunting peoples whom we can observe today wandering about in their little family bands, if the woman has ability, if she is of good character and disposition, if she is of strong and balanced personality, she counts her weight. If she lacks these qualities, she loses in status. In a word, it is personality more than artificial custom or institution that deter-

mines her status. And generally speaking, as woman's personality measures up on the average about equally with that of man, her status tends to be about equal.

Such is the situation prevailing among living marginal peoples, "our contemporary ancestors." In all probability, the same situation prevailed among our early prehistoric ancestors. The greater part of such oppression of woman as has occurred in human prehistory and history has seemingly come about in *later* prehistoric times or in the full noonday of dated history.

One final point may be added. We not infrequently meet the statement that the position of woman is an index to the degree of culture possessed by a people. So far at least as primitive peoples and material culture are concerned, this principle does not hold. If anything, woman's status seems rather to have decreased as material culture increased. Whether there is a direct correlation between the status of woman and general moral culture is less clear. If there be any such correlation it is a relatively very slight one,—or perhaps it would be more exact to say, it is, in the present state of our ethnological knowledge, a very obscure one. How far such correlation exists in the historic field proper is a question for the historian to answer. So far as anthropology can see, correlation even within the historic field does not seem to exist.

#### REFERENCES

One of the best treatments in English of the status of woman in primitive culture is that in R. H. Lowie, *Primitive society*, (Boni and Liveright), New York, 1920, ch. viii, 186-204. For fuller treatment, with ample citations from sources and usually with well-balanced interpretations, see E. Westermarck, *Origin and development of the moral ideas*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1912, i, ch. xxvi, 629-69, and L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in evolution*, 2 vols., 2nd rev. ed., London, 1908, i, ch. iv-v, 134-239. See also the valuable discussion and tabular classifications on "Position of the Wife" in L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler and M. Ginsberg, *The material culture and social institutions of the simpler peoples*, repr., London, 1930, 170-75, cf. 148-54. Although written many years ago and interlarded with many interpretations and theories no longer accepted, O. T. Mason's *Woman's share in primitive culture*, N. Y., 1898, still makes fascinating reading. For studies of the status of woman in particular tribes and cultures, the monographs and other sources dealing with these tribes and cultures must be consulted. Bibliographies listing many of the more important of such studies may be found in the footnotes and reference lists in the above-cited works of Lowie,

Westermarck, and Hobbouse. An excellent short summary of the status of the North American Indian woman may be found in the article, "Women", by J. N. B. Hewitt, in Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of Amer. ethnology, bull. 30, s. v.; of the status of the aboriginal Australian woman, in B. Malinowski's *The family among the Australian aborigines*, London, 1913, ch. iii, 67-88.

### WOMAN'S STATUS AS REFLECTED IN TWO CHINESE POEMS

THE translations of the two following poems have been forwarded by Father Francis Billiet, I.C.I.M. They were made from the originals by one of his confrères, a missionary in China. The poems throw light upon certain aspects only of woman's earlier status in China. They do not give a complete or balanced picture of her status as such. Their interest lies largely in the fact that they come from the Chinese woman herself.

The first poem was written by Ts'ai Yen, daughter of a man of letters, Ts'ai Yung (A.D. 133-192), nicknamed the Drunken Dragon, on account of his weakness for the cup that cheers. The officer to whom Ts'ai Yen was first married had died, leaving her childless. As the young widow was on her way to visit her family, she was captured by the "Huns",—the warlike nomads of the region outside the Great Wall, possibly related to the historic Huns who invaded Europe in the fourth and ninth centuries,—and was taken to wife by a Khan. With him she lived twenty years and by him had two sons. Her father having died without male issue, Ts'ao Ts'ao, the Chinese prime minister, with a view of ensuring the continuance of the family line of Ts'ai Yung, ransomed his daughter with gold and jewels and married her to a certain Tung. The poem, part of which is here given in translation, was written by her in eighteen strophes and is considered her masterpiece.

The editor has been unable to discover who was the authoress of the second poem given below. Its burden reminds one of the ancient Hindu teaching: "In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent" (Laws of Manu, tr. G. Buehler, Oxford, 1886, ch. v, no. 148, p. 195). The Chinese authoress seems to stand midway between resigned fatalism and militant rebellion.



## I

I was born without being asked whether I wished to be or not,  
Since I have had to witness the destruction of the empire of Han.  
Heaven and earth have been hard-hearted toward me.  
Why have they made me live in such a time?

Then I was torn from my native land and led to the capital of the  
Huns,

Without possible touch with my family, and was reduced to slavery.  
I no longer see aught but felt and furs, meat and kumiss,  
Proud Huns with their brutish ways.

I think always of my native land.

By night I hear the roaring of the River as it flows toward my  
homeland,

By day I strive to see from afar the Great Wall.

I confide my grief to my zither, whose strings it will break.

A Hun prince loved me, and I had two sons by him.

I am not ashamed of them, for they are my children.

And now I am called back and I must leave them.

My tears trickle down, and from sobbing my voice is lost.

If Heaven has eyes, why does it not see my misery?

If the Ancestors know, why do they not take pity on me?

Why have me so marry and ever separate?

Why make me pass thus from sorrow to sorrow?

Heaven and earth are vast.

Vast likewise is my sorrow.

Why is there no happiness for me on earth?

Why is there nothing for me in the heavens but clouds and vapors?

I loved them, my little Huns.

Now the children are in the North, and their mother is in the South.

Home again, I find my native land destroyed.

I weep amidst the ruins of its capital, and long to die.

## II

Alas! I was born a girl,  
For abasement and suffering.



The boy who will one day be head of the family  
Is honored from his birth like a being transcendent.  
Later on, his ambition reaches out to everything  
And he can go where he wills.

While the girl is reared disliked and unloved,  
For she is not looked upon as of worth by her family.  
The older she grows the more narrowly is she hemmed in,  
Until at last they veil her, lest any one should see her.

Then one day she is borne away, all in tears,  
As suddenly as time changes.

Now she must lower her head and seal her lips,  
Kneel, prostrate herself again and again,  
Please her lord, adapt her character to his,  
Turn herself ever toward him like the sunflower toward the sun.

She must pass through fire and water.  
A hundred evils break upon her, one after another.  
Then, as age come on, her beauty fades,  
And her husband gives his love to those more youthful.

After having been united like the body and its shadow,  
They become strangers one to the other.  
Nor is this all. Strangers see each other sometimes,  
But in the harems separation is absolute.

#### NOTES ON AGE-CLASSES AMONG THE NORTHERN ARAPAHO

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THE subject of age-classes and age-groupings forms one of the most interesting chapters in the study of primitive social organization. While at our Mission of St. Stephen's in Wyoming last summer, I succeeded in interesting one of our pupils, Mr. Thomas J. Duran, in the age-classes of the Arapaho there. He spent several weeks in interviewing the oldest men still living near and around the Mission, which has been conducted by the Jesuit Fathers for nearly a half century.

Mr. Duran speaks Arapaho perfectly. His mother was a full-

blooded Arapaho. He has been living for many years very near the Mission. The information on the age-classes was secured by him from two Arapaho men, White Antelope and Bareback Bone [Bare Backbone?], their statements being translated by him. Mr. Duran's own Indian name is White Robe. Here follow the data exactly as transmitted to me by Dr. Duran:

The Eight Age-Classes of the Northern Arapaho:

1. *Ge-e-the'-nan* ("Leg Calves"); insignia, none; activities, play; age, 1 to 11. Remarks: No ceremonial, no sponsors.

2. *Nō-he'-ne-nan*<sup>1</sup> ("Fox Men"); insignia, tomahawks; activities, lookouts during travel; ages, 12 to 16. Remarks: This lodge had regular ceremonies and initiations. One sponsor for all the members. Only a few would take active part in the ceremonies, although the young men of that age belong to this lodge. They had a special dance. A social and sacred grouping.

3. *He-ja'-ā-cū-the*<sup>2</sup> ("Spear bearers"); insignia, spears; activities, scouts; ages, 17 to 21. Remarks: One sponsor for all members. They were taught the first steps in warfare. Some were appointed to minor offices in war parties. They had a special dance. Also a social and sacred grouping.

4. *Be-dā-hāy-nen-na*; insignia, staff; activities, warriors; ages, 21 to 40. Remarks: Each had his own sponsor. They had their own special dance. Regarded as a social and sacred grouping. They were full-fledged warriors; some were appointed to the major positions in warfare. Many received the name of chief if they did great deeds in actual combat.

5. *Ha-ha-kā'-nen-nā* (Crazy Lodge); insignia, bow and arrow; activities, foolish actions; ages, any age beyond 40. Remarks: The members of this lodge must be elected. Their actions must be contrary to the proper way. For instance, if your horse is near and you tell one of these men not to ride it, he will ride it anyhow. These lodge members rarely have meetings. When they do, the whole tribe takes some part. Active members are taught the first steps in magic and medicine.

<sup>1</sup> In his Arapaho glossary, Mooney (14th Rpt. BAE, pt. ii, 1021) mentions this age-class: "*Nuhinē'na*—Fox men, from *nu*, fox and *hinē'na*, men; one of the degrees of the Arapaho military organization" (cf. p. 987).

<sup>2</sup> Mooney (ibid., 1015) gives *Bitā'hinēna* as "spear men", adding that the name comes from the Cheyenne word for spear, *bitahā'na*, and that the Arapaho word for spear is *qawā'*.

6. *Ha-thab'-ne-nan*<sup>3</sup> (Dog Lodge); insignia, dog tooth; membership, selective. Remarks: No sponsors. Only sacred ceremonies and sacred dance. Initiation into sacred magic and into medicine secrets. Only good honest men are selected; in other words, they are medicine men.

7. *Na-na'-how-wu* ("Man Lodge"); membership, elective. Remarks: Most sacred of the Arapaho lodges. Members elected for their renown in medicine and magic. No meetings have been held for a long time ("for last hundred years"). Not much is known about them.

8. *Ba-nō'-dā-wan* (Women Lodge); membership, selective. Remarks: No sponsor. Only sacred dance. Only women can take an active part. All members of the Dog Lodge are honorary members of the Woman Lodge, but take no active part in it. This is the only lodge for women; it is for them the most sacred lodge. The women are taught medicine secrets, etc.

So far the information received from Mr. Duran.

Arapaho age societies have been studied by Mooney (Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th ann. rept., part ii, pp. 986-989); by Kroeber (Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History, xviii, pt. ii, pp. 151-231); and by Lowie (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, xi, passim, and especially, pp. 930-38). Though many years separate these three studies from that made by Mr. Duran, there is agreement in essentials. Kroeber's studies were made over thirty years ago, Lowie's investigations date chiefly from 1910, while Mooney's observations were made forty years ago in connections with his studies of the Ghost Dance religion and the Sioux outbreak of 1890.

Moreover, the rapid decay of Indian life, owing chiefly to contact with civilization, and the ever-increasing settlement of whites among the Indians, and consequent intermarriage, have almost completely shattered the old tribal life. The writer became keenly aware of this during the summers of 1928 and 1931, when he spent

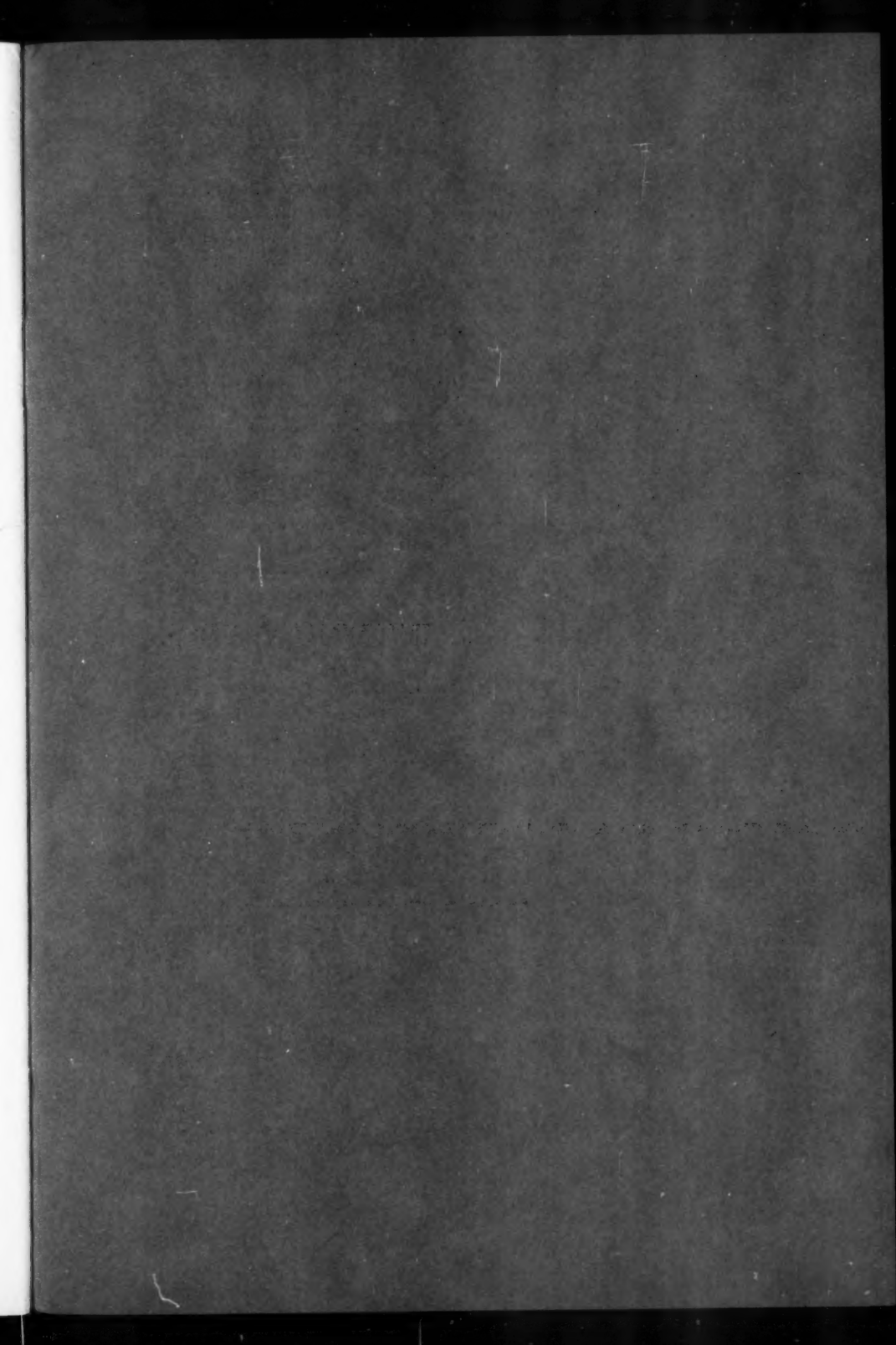
<sup>3</sup> Mooney (ibid., 1018, 1015) gives *Hēthē'hinē'na* as "dog men", from *hēth*, dog, and *hinē'na*, men; *Bēnī'nēna* means "warriors", the military organization of the Arapaho. [Final *n* in Duran's transcription of names for his classes 1, 2, 6, and for woman's lodge may perhaps denote nasalized *a*; it is omitted in names for classes 4, 5. Duran's first group appears more a simple age grouping than an age class proper; it does not appear in Mooney's and Kroeber's lists.—Ed.]

some time among the Arapaho. Thomas Duran was practically the only available man who was able to collect data on age-societies that were in any way satisfactory. Hence, Duran's account given above represents probably the last effort that can be satisfactorily made among the oldest surviving men of the tribe to collect information on what was once a significant culture trait of most of the Plains Indians—their age classes and military societies.

In the arrangement of the paraphernalia and insignia of Plains Indians age-societies in the exhibit of the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago, the fourth in the Arapaho "series of age societies" is said to be called "The Thunder-bird Society", including men of about forty years of age. No one of the three writers mentioned above refers to this name, nor does Duran. Duran's statement as to age of his "fourth class", however, agrees with the age of the fourth class in the Field Museum exhibit. Again, according to the same exhibit, the Crazy Lodge Society stood fifth in the Arapaho series, and was composed of men between forty and fifty years of age. This largely corresponds with Duran's statement that membership of the fifth society includes "any age past forty".

Mooney and Kroeber do not agree as to the age for the Crazy Lodge. Mooney says that men were more than fifty years of age (loc. cit., 988), while Kroeber gives forty as the "approximate age" (loc. cit., 227). Mooney and Duran agree as to the regalia of the fifth order. While Duran gives "bow and arrow" as the insignia of this society, Kroeber gives "bow and cape" as its "characteristic regalia". The difference is to be accounted for by the fact that Duran does not touch upon the personal attire of the members.

As to number six, the Dog Lodge, Kroeber (loc. cit.) gives the "whistle" as part of the regalia. Duran mentions the dog-tooth. Kroeber gives fifty as the approximate age, while Duran says it is "selective", and assigns the qualification "good, honest men". As to the Women's Lodge, Kroeber and Duran agree in assigning "any age" for members.



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